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Selections.

SLAVERY AS INVOLVED IN THE WAR.

THE VIEWS OF GOV. SEWARD.

[The following is an extract from a letter of Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Adams, American Minister to Great Britain, and communicated by the latter to Earl Russell, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The dispatch is dated May 28, 1862.]

* * * The power of a losing faction under any circumstances must continually grow less. But that of the disunionists is abating under the operation of a cause peculiarly favorable to which is now my duty to bring forward — I mean the practice of African slavery.

I am aware that in regard to this point I am opening a subject which was rarely introduced in the correspondence. The reason for the interdiction, and the reason for a departure from it, are, however, equally obvious. It was properly left out of view so long as might be reasonably hoped that by the practice of magnanimity this government might cover that weakness of the enemy which was encouraging them to persevere in their iron-sombre conspiracy against the Union. They have protracted the war a year, notwithstanding this forbearance of the government, and yet they persist in investing foreign arms to end a domestic strife, while they have forced slavery into such prominence that it cannot be overlooked.

The region where the insurrection still remains flagrant embraces all or parts of several States, with a white population of 4,500,000 and a slave population of 3,500,000, chiefly slaves. It is thus seen to be a war between two parties of the white race, not only in the presence, but in the very midst of the enslaved negro race.

It is notorious—we could not conceal the fact if we would—that the dispute between the two parties of questions in which the negro race have a deep and lasting interest, and that their sympathies, wishes and interests naturally, necessarily, inevitably, fall on the side of the Union. Such a civil war between two parties of the white race, in such a place and under such circumstances, could not be expected to continue long before the negro race would begin to manifest some sensibility and some excitement. We have arrived at that stage already. Everywhere the American General finds new and useful and reliable information from the negro, who hails his coming as a harbinger of freedom. Wherever the National army advances, the white fugitives disappear, African bondsmen, escaping from their insurrectionary masters, come out to meet it, and offer their service and labor in the capacities they may be desired. So many of these bondsmen have, even without the invitation, and often against the opposition of the Federal military and naval authorities, made their way from bondage among the insurgents to freedom among the loyalists, that the government finds itself constrained to take the considered action of measures to provide them with domiciles at home or abroad. Not less than 100 such escape every day; and as the war advances the number increases. If the war should continue indefinitely, every slave will become, not only a free man, but an absentee. If the insurgents will retain their control, how could they hope to prevent the civil war they have inaugurated from degenerating into a servile war? True, a servile population, especially one long enslaved as the Africans in the insurrectionary States, require time and trial before they can organize a servile war; but if the war continues indefinitely, a servile war is the certain result of time. The problem, then, is whether the strife shall be left to go on to that point. The government, animated by a just regard for the general welfare, including that of the insurrectionary States, adopts a policy designed at once to save the Union and rescue society from that fearful catastrophe. It cannot be expected that the ultimate peaceful relief of the nation from slavery it cannot be necessary to prove to any enlightened statesman that the labor of the African race in the insurrectionary region is at present indispensable as a resource of the insurgents for continuing the war, nor is it now necessary to show that this same labor is the basis of the whole industrial system of that entire region. The war is thus seen to be producing already a disorganization of the industrial system of the insurrectionary States, and tending to the subversion of even their social system. Let it next be considered that the European systems of industry are largely based upon the African labor of the insurrectionary States, employed in the production of cotton, tobacco and rice, and on the free labor of the other States, employed in the manufacturing, out of which combined productions arise the demand for European productions, materials and fabrics. The disorganization of labor in the insurrectionary States, and the consequent cessation of the demand for European productions, materials and fabrics. The disorganization of labor in the insurrectionary States, cannot but impair their ability to prosecute the war, and at the same time result indirectly in greater distress in Europe.

On the other hand, this disorganization operates far less injuriously at present to the Federal government and to the people of the United States than those who escapes from his service is not only lost to the support of the insurrection, but he brings an accession to the productive labor of the loyal States, and to that extent increases their ability to continue the contest in which they are reluctantly engaged. The failure of foreign importation as it operates to turn for the exportation of southern staples, stimulates the manufacturing industry of the loyal States. Immigration is accelerated by an activity in these States exceeding even what was witnessed before the prosecution of the war. Thus has the phenomenon appeared, disappointing so many prophecies in Europe, that the war has not only not enfeebled the only the insurrection, and not the Union. I shall not contend that these effects would be perpetual. I know there is a seeking must be overcome by long people the misfortune to be involved in a war, and I do not expect for the United States any exemption from that inexorable law. But we may reasonably hope that the penalties are neither more severe nor more imminent than the loyal States can endure, while bringing this unhappy contest to a desired conclusion. I am not at present aware that any one or more European States should think it right or expedient to intervene by force to oblige the United States to accept a compromise with their enemies. What other effect could it produce than to render inevitable, and even hurry on, that servile war, so completely destructive of all industry, and so much to be dreaded by every interested in this country, which this government so studiously strives to avoid? I know that the danger of any foreign nation attempting such a policy, if it has ever existed, has passed, as I am happy in knowing that no foreign government has ever threatened such intervention, while several unquestionable governments have repudiated all unfriendly designs, have put forward that by pathosis only by way of preface to a question not less significant—namely, what must be the effect of such a policy abroad as will encourage the insurgents with hopes of an intervention which is never to occur? It is not that effect visible in the obstinacy of the insurgents, in their destruction of the cotton and tobacco already cultivated, and liable to be brought into commerce by the return of peace, and in their studied neglect of the planting the seeds of their staples, and turning so much of the African labor as they are able to save into the production of supplies of provision and forage, to enable them to continue the war?

The effect will be further developed as time goes on, in opening a way for that servile war, which, if it shall be permitted to come, will produce infinite suffering throughout the world, and can only at last result in an entirely new system of trade and commerce between the United States and all foreign nations.

I need not say that these views are not grounded on any proceedings or expressions of the British government, and are to be referred to them only, as they will be to other States, from a strong desire on the part of the President that the true condition of the present strife may be very widely and fully understood. I am, etc., William H. Seward.

GOV. SEWARD TO EUROPE.

From The Tribune.

We have chosen to be among the earliest commentators on Gov. Seward's just published dispatch to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, preferring that others should precede us in developing and proclaiming its real significance. The ruling British notion that the American Premier—to whom, while they deny the need of statesmanship, they generously accord that of cleverness as a matter of deep duty—would seize the earliest opportunity afforded him by the apparently triumphant progress of our arms to say tauntingly to Louis Napoleon and Victoria, "Friend! you see how your Confederate *protegés* are getting on!"—does him injustice not likely to gain currency on this continent. That Gov. Seward has the industrious functionary, no one will deny; but we do not believe he has ever written a dispatch save under the pressure of a conviction that duty required it. This new dispatch, then, had a purpose—one very obvious to all who look beneath the surface, yet one which we doubt not will be generally found out and emphasized elsewhere than in *The Tribune*.

The N. Y. *Times* thus cautiously, and with needless circumspection, indicates that purpose:

"After a comparative view of the resources of the national government and the rebels, Mr. Seward approaches the subject of slavery, and points out with the utmost fairness, he argues, but a question of time, if the war shall continued to its close, that the labor, the very basis of the industrial system of the South like to be completely broken up by the abolition of slavery and the conquest of the blacks. Such a consummation, even as a part from the general welfare, adopts a policy designed at once to save the Union and rescue society from that fearful catastrophe, while it contains the ultimate peaceful relief of the nation from slavery. The wording is here studious, but it is not difficult to draw the inference that Emancipation will be the policy of the government when all other means of its domestic difficulties, and *certainly if any European Power shall intervene.*"

The Sun more bluntly states the same obvious truth:

"The most remarkable part of Mr. Seward's letter is his intimation that the cause is slavery. He does not conceal the fact that this is the real cause of the war, or that the social revolution that may ensue is the solution of this question. His language to rebels is that *Emancipation will speedily be the result of foreign intervention*, and may possibly take place if the civil war is prolonged."

The World wisely abstains from comment on the dispatch, and *The Herald* shuts over the gist of it in a paragraph, in which the point is carefully suppressed. But this will not conceal from the civilized world, though it may from the readers of *The Herald*, that the Secretary of State has by this memorable Foreign Powers of President Lincoln's policy, has been impelled to notify those powers that any interference on their part in behalf of the rebels will surely be countervailed by a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of those rebels; nay, that, even in the absence of such intervention, obstinate persistence in their rebellion by the Southern traitors may constrain the President to cripple them by emancipating their slaves.

Gov. Seward has been regarded as that member of the Cabinet who has most earnestly, effectively resisted the policy of emancipation. The fact that, while he still deems it his immediate duty to oppose adoption, he steadily contemplates it *as a* practical, justifiable, and probable resort—one which we must be not be denied—is significant on behalf of the future and may be forced to even in the absence of such meddling—is of immense significance. Gov. Seward here avows his belief in the emergence in the general conviction that to proclaim emancipation in the shortest and surest way to end the rebellion. He shrinks from adopting it as yet, believing that we can succeed without it; whenever clearly convinced that we cannot, he will be ready to proclaim it.

The situation is a peculiar position. Months ago, when the peril of intervention was imminent, a high naval officer of Southern birth and leading put to him point blank the question: "What if France and England take the part of the rebels?" "We shall start a million men from the Potomac," was his ready reply, "with the watchword 'On to Richmond!' every negro we meet; and two months will see the end of the rebellion."

—But how does Gov. Seward's dispatch none other than a moral value? It has. It has already, compelled a strategic movement (which of course is not an advance) on the part of the general disposition in favor of the rebels, temporarily enthroned in the Tuileries. It is notorious that Louis Napoleon has for months been plotting a concerted intervention by England. He has sounded the arts of cajolery on Russia; and her final response is a formal declaration, through the official St. Petersburg *Gazette*, that Russia is very anxious for peace in England and America, but desires to see it effected through reconciliation and reunion, not through the triumph of secession and rebellion. It has sounded Spain, and in the history of his views, yet the Queen is firmly, earnestly our friend, while Palmerston, though he scarcely affects to conceal his hatred for us and his sympathy for the rebels, is only confirmed in his conviction that our domestic quarrel is a remarkably nice business to keep out of. Finally, Gov. Seward could do it better than one of persons been known to the French Emperor for weeks—has satisfied even him that he will burn his fingers by any attempt to pull the Confederate chestnuts out of the fire, unless he first hauls them invincibly to abolish slavery. His chief penmen and pamphleteer, M. de la Guerronnière, has been for months trying to indicate the path which the Emperor has resolved to tread—in his new journal, *La France*, treads the narrow line of neutrality, but with a leaning to the rebels. Every article running through three Nos. wherein he says:

"But, whatever may be the real object of this deplorable conflict, it is evident that the social question of slavery will which it was originally complicated, has given birth in the public mind to a question of humanity which it is important to dissipate. *Regarded as an unparalleled demand for independence, the cause of the Southern States becomes temporarily enthroned in the holiest place of slavery, it must oblige exact universal reputation.* And this is how the Confederate States have succeeded in rapidly the sympathies of the Great Powers of Europe, when absolutely unknown to them, they were hardly ten days old for *this important point the slightest misunderstanding.* France, in every where in the modern republic of civilization, is the faithful missionary of the idea of justice in the work of mankind's progress; she does not only accept her herself with the material interests of my enterprise, but especially and before all with the mind and to be attained. It is for this reason, with reason, that France is the only nation which has the right to speak, and before whom the Confederate states also has made every time the sacred cause of humanity was at stake. Therefore when the moment arrives, the noble generous and inspired mission invited, the nation demanding this aid and support must first place herself at the height of which France has attained; the *grandeur* which she contemplates requires and which the moral law has long ago established, must be accomplished. The Confederate States every asserts with us, we believe, an incontestable verity, that the South did not take up arms in order to maintain and protect her moment Independence. Let her, therefore, have the courage to prove by a strident act that the *slavery of her directors by a heroic resolution!* She forms to-day an organized state, with a Constitution, a supreme head, and a considerable population. Let these several powers, or, if need be, her leaders, have decreed, solemnly declare that slavery is only temporary institution and not the object of the division, and, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, and of wise statesmanship, let them decree that the progressive abolition of slavery. When under the shelter of the breath of liberty and of right the shadow of the slave shall have fallen, when, at a later hour, every where will grand and glorious, notwithstanding the inevitable sufferings of the past, have ceased, shall have neglected the question of slavery. It is possible that a society so strongly organized, as possible, so intelligent as the modern society, should find the solution of the question of emancipation? When autocratic Russia effects from her enterprise all the best results of her Washington, the country of antique liberty, lends still under the yoke human beings, and requires as the most chandelle the free creatures of God! No, this fatal situation, lasting much too long, and immediately will disappear; should will burst from the world, and the cause of the South, in future, disengaged from the prejudices which Slavery excites against her, will have gained universal sympathy, and will be able to escape from the difficult ground of alarmed morality to place herself on that of a practical policy!"

"In my case, a prejudice, if we may thus call it, but an insurmountable prejudice, raises itself up between civilized Europe and the Confederate States; it is doubtful whether they succeed in obtaining the recognition of their Independence and their rights so long as the great republic shall not have dissipated, on this subject, the prejudices of public opinion. Their moral dignity commands them to take on any their interests in hand; for, when the American question shall be concentrated into the limits of interests exclusively political, the justice of the cause of the South will appear palpable in the eyes of the most prejudiced."

—All this is clear and unmistakable. The rebels are urgent for recognition and intervention. Slidell, their ablest intriguer, followed Louis Napoleon to his private retreat at Vichy to press their suit. Like every other traitor in Europe, he protests and insists that they are not fighting for slavery, but for independence and free trade. Napoleon understands the case; but he very shrewdly judges that, if they can't afford to own that they are fighting for slavery, he can't afford to fight for it, no matter under what subterfuge. He says, "my good sire," says the polite Frenchman, "you are not fighting for slavery, but for independence. You are not fighting for slavery, but for independence, free trade, and all that sort of thing; but I must say anything which will induce you to believe you are—and those fellows in blouses who tenant the Faubourg St. Antoine don't understand your American distinctions, and might not be quite so ready to lay down their coat, Nicholas of his stuff. Mrs. Fremont waved o the recipient of cheers and bouquets. As the General rose, two magnificent bouquets were thrown upon the stand and remained upon the desk during the speech. Gen. Fremont spoke with great deliberation, without notes, as follows:]

I feel deeply the honor of having been asked to appear before you. I am gratified that you think I can say anything which will add to the interest of the meetings. But I trust that this object, so far as it relates to the enrollment of the volunteers required, has already been attained. The events of the last few weeks have made so apparent the necessity for immediate reinforcements, that I hope nothing else has been needed to procure a prompt response to the call of the government, and to that mute but strong appeal of your friends in the field, who to-day constitute our bulwark against the ranges of rebellion.

The chances of war do not admit of delays. The enemy is pushing it forward with renewed vigor, and the loss of a few weeks, even a few days, may give inventive disasters abasement to record and impossible to retrieve. In this condition it will never do to let indifference to any opinion or to any party interfere or control an interference with its vigorous prosecution. First fill the ranks, and leave to those who stay at home the obligation of shaping the struggle to its proper ends.

But Mass-achusetts needs no other incitement to her duty than the certainty that she has one to perform. Under this impulse her quota will be moved forward promptly and nobly, as they always have done (cheers). She will be always true, as in this contest she has been pocketing from the highest record.

The island that here in the "Cradle of liberty" strangled the serpent, is ready in its manhood to destroy the hydra; and when I see, as I have seen, and the opportunity to see, what kind of men they are, each one filling a place in society, instructed, intelligent men, heads and supporters of families, contributing by steady labor to the wealth of the State—when I see such men going by thousands and hundreds of thousands to the field, my anxiety is not in regard to the numbers, but to the spirit in which their ready obedience and affecting confidence in the government will be met by a corresponding care for them in the field, and that the organization of the service will be directed to results worthy of the sacrifices they are making (applause).

Therefore, I indulge myself in the pleasure of feeling that the object of this meeting is not so much to urge the necessity for further troops as to furnish an occasion for encouragement and sympathy to those now leaving for the field—the assemblage of friends on shore to greet the parting ship—and so, with a last word to them, Here, with your permission, for a moment to the duties resting upon those of us who for the time being are left at home.

I have just now expressed an anxiety that we should obtain from this war results worthy of the sacrifices we are making. How this shall be done and in the special way, is the question which threatens still more to convulse the country, and is making of the nation one great council of war. And it is right that the people should in this way jealously watch their vital interests. Not only is there a great rebellion to crush, but a revolution to accomplish. The rebellion is aimed to the heart by a struggle for existence, and not only the life of the country, but the life of representative liberty throughout the world depends upon it. It is not safe to believe that we shall be able easily to govern this revolution. And in the midst of such events it is not only the right but the duty of each one to express his opinions, and, however slight his influence may be, to employ it in laboring for the common cause.

Mr. Motley, whom envoy at the Court of France, sent, I think, by Elizabeth—at all events at a time when on the personal relations of Embassadors depended peace or war between nations—said to the French Minister, who had purposely provoked him, that "although Embassador, he was not the less a gentleman." Without pretending to such dignity, I may call for it, to act in his broader capacity. So, therefore, a soldier, but not the less a citizen, I will in the little I have to say to you speak my opinions, and, however slight my influence may be, employ it in laboring for the common cause.

The rebellion is the fullness of time, and I will then the flag they loved floats over their regiment upon some distant field—will their sleep be disturbed? Tell them that their names will be handed down with honor through the succession of generations—will they not be a main thrill in their children, and will their eyes glisten? Give them, then, while they can enjoy it, the satisfaction to know that their efforts have an object. Already you hear the call for it, to act in his broader capacity. So, therefore, a soldier, but not the less a citizen, I will in the little I have to say to you speak my opinions, and, however slight my influence may be, employ it in laboring for the common cause.

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WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz:

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OUR Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware subscribers, especially those who are in arrears, are requested to remit the amount they owe to J. M. McKim, 106 North-Tenth street, Philadelphia, before the 1st of October.

THE LESSON OF THE HOUR.

WHAT is to be said in this week of the Nation's agony? What word is sufficient in these days red with battle and hot with the flush of conflicting purposes? The rebellion has placed itself fiercely and bravely in front of our armies, and compels them to dangers and losses which our Generals had put forth all their "strategy" to defer, in the hope that we might avert them by a compromise equivalent to a surrender. The difference between half measures and whole measures, between earnestness of soul and lukewarmness of spirit, is now demonstrating on the bloody fields of Virginia. The conspiracy which might have been crushed a twelvemonth ago has now grown into proportions which overshadow the continent and threaten to destroy the nation. And this great and imminent peril is a natural death, because we believed that it would die a natural death, if let alone, and that neither men nor munitions of war could be procured by the conspirators! And even now we are flattered by talks of this being the convulsive struggle of the last dying struggle of the rebellion, which overpowered, it must give up the ghost and blast the earth no longer. As if we had not learned anything from the bitter experience of the last thirteen months, and could be deceived by those old wives' tales, in the face of the defeat and disgrace that have attended our arms almost everywhere and almost always. We trust none are deceived by these smooth prophecies, excepting such as love lies and long for defeat.

Should it be, Pope annihilate the armies now opposed to him, we believe that the material strength of the rebellion would hardly be touched. We argue from the premises which the last year has furnished us without, and we infer that its resources of men are not only greater than we had supposed possible, but actually greater than we have ourselves. And this great force of the lower and less complex phase of civilization on which they stand. Their wants are fewer, and the machinery of their political and social systems much more simple. This is always the case with despotisms. They can command all their resources much more readily, and completely, especially that necessary for military operations, than a government in a state of Social Individualism.

These cannot be disturbed without much greater injury than the simpler arrangements of the despotic polities, resting on the absolute, or virtual, servitude of the laboring classes. In the slaveholding States every white man, literally, capable of bearing arms can be called into the field without disturbance to this general course of production necessary to the existence of the Commonwealth. The slaves produce enough and more than enough for the subsistence of the army and the people, all others can be put in the field, if necessary. And this number cannot be much less than a million and a half of men able to handle a musket. The poor whites are precisely of the stupid and solid material which is most easily worked up into food for powder. We have been amazed by an officer of large experience in that sphere of society before the war, and who has witnessed what it could do in battle, that this is really the case. He said that the men of whom we read that they rush headlong upon batteries and close up ranks when thinned by our artillery, are of precisely this class, who are trained to abuse the horses and mules that can be trained to stand the terrors of the battle-field.

The supply of common soldiers of this class, mixed up, of course, with a better and more intelligent order who would approach us more nearly in character, is inexhaustible. And it is no friend to the nation or to mankind to say that the men now in the field against us are all the material we have to protect ourselves against. And then we must recollect the infinite advantage they have over us in the matter of officers. This matter is not generally understood, and it is thought commonly that it is from West Point only that their officers have stolen their military education. This is far from being the case. There are no less than *nine* military schools or colleges in the seceding States, at which the wealthier class of their youth is educated, and has been for twenty or thirty years past. This has been part of the preparation those farseeing men have made for the emergency now upon them. For that period of time the number of Southern young men resorting to the Military College has been sensibly diminishing, and their education has been thus provided for. At these Colleges the instruction is not as exclusively military as at West Point, but their pupils are every where well qualified to invoke company and battalion officers as all the classes is as competent to drill a company, or even to command a regiment, as the graduates of West Point. What an immense advantage this gives them over us, where our armies have come in collision. The education which our young officers have to pick up as they can, after joining the army, their antagonists have had in advance. And then they have all the energy which a well-understood, distinct and passionate purpose calls into action. Hence proceed those great Generals which they only have produced, or been willing to use, who have proved themselves so much more than a match for military pedants like Halleck and McClellan. With such materials for an army, and with men thus trained to mould and to lead them, we think that even a sufficient and disposition of the force now opposing that of Gen. Pope would by no means be the extinction of the rebellion.

In this state of things, we need not say what we hold to be the only hope of the nation's deliverance. We have repeated it in unwilling ears even to weariness. It may be part of the humiliation which is to punish our national crimes, that we shall have to use the race we have held while their oppressors robbed them, for permission to exist as a nation. It is but a just retribution, and we must choose between accepting it or our national ruin. As long as the rebels have four million of slaves to raise their food, to dig their trenches, to drive their waggons and artillery, and to form their bands, they will be invincible by us. It is equivalent to a million men in their service, over and above those in the field. Even if they have not armed their negroes, which has been affirmed, not less than seventy of them are connected with every regiment, as officers' servants, cooks, musicians, and teamsters, besides the large levies called upon for special service in the trenches or on fortifications. These are in actual addition to their forces, as compared with our own, of at least two hundred thousand men. And these involuntary allies we have the power of converting into our friends and helpers, by the simple guarantee of justice to them, and we refuse to give it! Can we be said to deserve success, as long as we are guilty of this consummate folly? A proclamation promising freedom and protection to every slave seeking our lines or claiming his free papers of any United States official, would shake to its centre the system of labor on which the whole rebellion rests. How much they dread such a step is sure in to be seen in the threats of death which the Generals Hunter and Phelps for issuing what they have done, and in the brave words spoken taken in arms to the sanctioned and their officers to the gallows, now before the rebel Congress. We have reason to know that a sense of the military necessity of emancipation has penetrated deeply into the ranks of our army. Officers of rank, of the most undisputed type of Brockinridge Democracy, who profess no desire of abolition on the right grounds of justice and humanity, have told us that victory and peace were impossible as long as slavery exists at all, and that this was the general sentiment of the army. Will the magic words be withheld forever? Is the dread of the secession party at home and of the semi-rebels of the Border States to condemn this nation to disgrace and ruin? It was a true word as an epigrammatic thing that a New York editor said to the able correspondent of the London *Spectator*," that before the rebellion we were governed by 300,000 slaveholders, but now we were governed by *thirty!*" Is the reign of the Thirty to endure forever? We will not yet despair, Tyrants to endure forever? Though hope has long seemed to be in spite of reason and evidence. The day of grace may soon pass away. And we admit, but it is one he cannot avoid, and he must choose between an illustrious or an infamous name in history, as the savior or the destroyer of his country.

THE PRESIDENT'S COLONIZATION SCHEME OF A SIXTH.

THE President's project for deporting a portion of the most industrious and efficient laboring population of the country has received its quietus at the very moment when it seemed about to succeed. The following dispatch from *The Times* explains the state of the affair:

"WASHINGTON, Friday, Aug 29.

"The Cabinet meeting the mother of to-day came up, and was long and carefully considered. In consequence of the representations of Senator Pomeroy, Minister, as well, it is understood, as because of some other difficulties in the way, it was finally decided to abandon the whole scheme—at least so far as it in any way involves the settlement of a negro colony in Chiriqui. It is understood, however, that the President will not abandon the matter altogether, but will, at a less sanguine day, make another effort in behalf of forcing emancipation, if it take effect, to some of the tropical regions of the continent, for a suitable colonial establishment for the prospective negro population locally for starting the proposed negro colony on this plan, however, is now given up by the public in Pomeroy's recent address to the negroes, is substantially killed."

The Costa Rican Minister insisted, it seems, that the parties of whom President Lincoln obtained the land for his proposed colony (christened "LINCOLIA" by the Washington *Republican*) had no claim to it; in other words, they are a set of speculators and filibusters, who hoped, by deceiving the President and the negroes, to put money in their own pockets. The Minister further represented that, while the Costa Ricans gladly welcome emigrants from every quarter, and of every color, and accord them every political and social advantage, they must object to the establishment of colonies on their territory, under the protection of a foreign flag.

As the President is anxious to find a place for the negroes, and to aid him in getting to it, we beg to call his attention to the following card:

SECURITY OF HELP IN CHICAGO.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Every man's THOUGHT to our Wardrobe.—Rebels are while male help.

Now, I have no doubt two hundred good colored men could get good situations as waiters in Chicago, and parents here in our city. A good part of our colored population have gone off as servants in the army.

Yours truly, JOHN R. STEWART.

Chicago, Aug. 25, 1862.

Here, also, is a paragraph from the Chicago *Tribune*, from which the President may, if he chooses, take a hint:

RARE CASE OF THE CROSS.—While it is the duty of every man at the West either to enlist himself, or to do what he can to get others to do so, every effort should be made to save the crops. In some sections we learn such has been the patriotic devotion of the people, that fears are entertained that it will be absolutely impossible to procure the labor to thresh out the wheat and prepare it for sale. If so take it to mind. In such cases the neighborhoods be organized as far as possible to assist the families of those who have left it their duty to go into the army. A good part of crops would be in every respect a patriotic duty which no lover of his country and his kind has any right to neglect. Our country needs not only more bread; but every surplus is needed to feed the starving millions of Europe, and the country needs the money and the Europe, and the country needs the money and the people they will gladly pay us. On every account, therefore, let every effort be made to secure the crops as fast as may be, and in the best possible condition.

If the presidents of the people of Illinois are likely to stand in the way of the employment of negroes to gather their crops, the President might call a deputation of his friends in this State to the White House to give them a lecture on the meanness and folly of such prejudices, entreating them, for their own sake, not to make fools of themselves.

While it is undoubtedly true that a few colored men had signified their willingness to join the proposed Colony of "Lincolia," it is quite as less certain that the mass of our colored population are opposed to this as well as to every other project of colonization. *The Anglo-African* states that the Committee called to the White House by the President to listen to his proposals, so far from having been convinced of his plan, expressed their judgment by adopting the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in the present condition of the public affairs of the country, we, the undersigned, feel it to be our duty to counsel, guard, and implore to agitate the subject of emigration of the colored people of this country anywhere, and that we believe that the whole subject of emigration, and movements, will adjust the matter of so infinitely vital interests to the colored people of these United States. And furthermore, that the present is unauthorized and unjust for us to compromise the interests of over four and a half million of our race by presuming to speak for them."

In the hope of thereby commending the scheme to the favor of others, it was announced that Robert Smalls, the negro pilot who brought the rebel steamer Planter out of Charleston harbor, addressed her crew to the U. S. vessel then lying there at Hilton Head, and made application for a passage to Chiriqui; whereupon the story was promptly contradicted, as follows:

"To the Editor of The National Republican.

In a paper of yesterday it is stated that an application had been made by me to Senator Pomeroy for a passage to Central America. It is without the least foundation for such application; but, at the same time, I would express my cordial approval of every kind and wise effort for the liberation and elevation of the African race.

After nothing, apparently in vain, for many years for our deliverance, a party consisting of nine men, all included, of the city of Charleston, conferred freedom on ourselves, five women and three children, and to the government of the United States we gave the Planter, a gunboat which cost nearly $30,000, together with six large guns, from a 24-pounder howitzer to a 10-pounder Parrott rifle.

"We are all now in the service of the navy, under a flag which we will ever defend with our lives, and where we would be sorry to see the rebellion and slavery are alike crushed out forever.

Very respectfully, ROBERT SMALLS.

"Washington, D. C., Aug. 27, 1862."

For further illustration of the slows of sensible colored men in regard to this new prospect for their expatriation, see a letter from one of them to the President, copied on the first page, from the Paterson (N. J.) *Guardian*. In point of sound sense, logic and wit, that letter is as much superior to the President's address as a Damascus blade is keener than a wooden sword. Read it and see!

After the foregoing article was in type, we found this dispatch in the New York *Times*.

"WASHINGTON, Monday, Sept. 1.

The scheme of the President, though abandoned so far as it contemplated sending out families this fall, has yet produced some interesting results. The publicity of the measure has developed a strong interest in the movement among the negroes themselves, who have heretofore always opposed it. Within two days after the publication of Senator Pomeroy's address, he had applications from over one hundred blacks. He has since received proposals from a number sufficient to load two vessels. Among them are two rags of Fred. Douglass, who has written Senator Pomeroy the following letter:

ROCHESTER, Aug. 27, 1862.

HON. S. S. POMEROY.—*My Dear Sir*? I avail to neither the justice nor the wisdom of admitting the free colored people to Central America. I am clear in the belief that the success of the American government could be better secured by the emigration of the whole colored population than by any other measure, and giving them an opportunity, in common with others, to develop the resources of that country. I am not to discuss with you the policy of this colonization scheme. The general sentiment of the colored people seems to be favorable. Options yours sincerely, &c. It is a kind alternative. I am for the children of my race and country united in this, the land of their birth and ancestors, has been the hope and ambition of us all. Many years—longer than any to set loose from this, have cemented in our that the chances are not all against him, and by a steadfast and firm adherence to principle, a manner brother also, I have I have never ceased to remember and to observe with pleasure the kind and generous liberality of the Society of Friends in their noble devotion to the principles of the high professions was accepted. I am, &c.

FRED'K DOUGLASS.

Among these offered are twenty-seven slaves, all master, recently escaped from across the river, in Virginia, who proposes to manumit them if the government will send them off. Senator Pomeroy replied to this that he could not interfere in regard to *their selling*, but are all against him, and by perseverance and fidelity he could get as much as the law would allow them. He expressed a willingness to receive any such funds as one of your colony. I shall follow him with my blessing, if I do not follow him personally. * * * FRED'K DOUGLASS.

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The Administration desires Senator Pomeroy to retain the number of men from the appliance, and with them to undertake a trap of exploration, with a view of selecting a suitable region for a colony, and making arrangements with the authorities. His own views are at present favorable to the Valley of the Amazon.

REBEL FEARS OF THE NEGRO.

THE proposition, so earnestly urged at the North, to strike at the heart of the rebellion by giving freedom to the slaves and allowing them to work and fight for the Union, has filled the traitors of the South with alarm. As we mentioned last week, the rebel Congress, now in session at Richmond, has before it two bills intended to deter the North from enlisting black soldiers. The one was introduced by Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, and the other by Mr. Foote, of Tennessee; and both provide that slaves taken in arms shall be delivered up to the authorities to be disposed of, while their commanders are to be "hung or shot, as they may see most convenient." The following order from the rebel War Department is another revelation of the moral terror inspired by the proposal to let the negroes fight for the North:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
RICHMOND, Aug. 21, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 60.—WHEREAS, Maj.-Gen. Hunter, recently in command of the department of the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, Gen. Phelps, a military commander of the army in the State of Louisiana, have each issued and avowed orders of a military character against their and avowed orders of this Confederacy, and

Whereas, the President of the United States has refused to answer an inquiry whether said conduct of the officers meets his approval or disapproval, but has by other officers meets his approval or disapproval, but has by other acts given reason for supposing said orders and conduct regret him by the adoption of said conduct in their respective commands; and

Whereas, Brig.-Gen. Phelps has not been punished, as he should be, by the public enemies of the Confederate States, but, as authorized and commissioned officer of the United States, has been treated as any other captive officer employed in drilling, organizing, and instructing slaves, with a view to their use in warfare against their masters, and not regarded even prisoner of war, but held in close confinement for such service as felons, and is held in close confinement for such service as felons, and is held in close confinement for such service as felons, and is

slavery, and warned their country against it. They believed that the age of war and barbarism had passed away. They wished this conflict between slavery and freedom to be a conflict of ideas and opinions, not of bullets and blood—a moral agitation, consistent with the civilization of the nineteenth century. They have been for years imploring the government to provide a peaceful means of immediate emancipation, warning it that if it did not do so, the life of the republic would be in terrible danger, and war and blood would follow. The warning of the Abolitionists has come true. To-day slavery has sprung up into thousands of traitors, succeeded in rending in order. Previous to his arrival in that city no man's life was safe, if not in the evening. It was estimated that there had been more than 60 duels fought in about the streets, armed with bowie-knives and pistols, since the whole number of his troops. Now the whole thing is changed, and the lives of life all, and great numbers of the respectable portion of the community are leading zealous *Standing Gun Instructions* taking the oath of allegiance. It is stated that females may now walk through the city from one part to the other, at any time of the day or night, without the slightest danger from insult, and that New Orleans, from being one of the most "fast" places on earth, is assuming the appearance, in respect to order and sobriety, of a New England city. S. A. Gordon.

A PRESCRIPTION FOR UNCLE SAMUEL.

The National Physician, having received a pressing letter, calling immediate attention to the critical case of our patient "Uncle Sam," and demanding a speedy and positive prescription, sent the following hasty and evidently satisfactory indication of the course of treatment to be pursued. The friends of our respected sick relative will be glad to be thus assured that something is to be immediately done, if something else is not decided upon. We copy from the *New York Mercury*:

I have just received your letter in regard to the illness of "Uncle Samuel."

If there be any elements or assumptions therein as to the diagnosis or symptoms of "Samuel's" ailments which I know to be erroneous, I shall expect you to correct them.

Among those killed in the late engagements were Col. Lyon, who was shot lately with Hunter at Hilton Head, Col. Fletcher Webster, only surviving son of the late Daniel Webster, and Gen. Kearney. The whole number of killed, wounded, and missing, summers is not known, but it must be very large, especially among the officers.

Gen. McClellan has been assigned the command of the fortifications and troops about Washington, and his reputation as a soldier is probably regarded as a satisfaction for this post.

Cincinnati is in great excitement in consequence of rebel successes in Kentucky. Habitat law has been declared, business is suspended, railroad trains are stopped, the citizens of Ohio are suspended at Louisville, where the headquarters are established. The greatest general of the State are collecting there. The greatest excitement prevails throughout that section of the State, and the Union citizens are rallying at the call of the Governor.

Halpin-Gen. O. H. Mitchel is put in command of the Department of the South, vice Gen. Hunter, who is ordered to Washington.

Gen. Hunter was relieved at his own request. The appointment of Gen. Mitchel to the successor indicates no change of policy in the management of the South, at least so far as regards the slavery question.—*Tribune.*

Rich Mountain—Western Virginia, has been captured by rebel cavalry, and they were reported to be advancing against Cincinnati.

Shiloh, Tenn.—The fight at Bolivar, Tennessee, on Saturday, lasted all the afternoon, resulting in the repulse of the enemy, who encamped within a few miles of Bolivar, and on Sunday morning broke up camp and fled. Gen. Hurlbut pursued them with his force into small squads, forded the Hatchee river, and attacked Buddha, and effected communication between Bolivar and Jackson is interrupted, but will soon be restored. A report reached Memphis on Friday that Gen. Buell had fought a fight with the rebels at Chattanooga on Wednesday and Thursday. The first day no advantage was gained on either side, but the second day the rebels were repulsed. Buell is reported to have captured 7,000 prisoners. This news is said to have been telegraphed to Memphis from Nashville, and from there to Jackson, Tenn., by Gen. Ross's special messenger. It may be true. Later dispatches say the rebels have destroyed all the railroad bridges between Bolivar and Jackson.

Fredericksburg was evacuated by Gen. Burnside on command Sunday afternoon, and the force proceeded to Aquia Creek.

Gen. Cadwallader of Philadelphia, lately arrested on a charge for disloyalty, has been released.

The Army and the Negroes.

In consequence of the American General Association not being known, a Socialist Association has been formed. Many *who make his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—Hon. H. Seward's Special Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

Gen. Beckler's Bravery.—It is stated in quarters whose information is entitled to be considered reliable that Gen. Beckler has proved that he at least fully determined to arm, drill and discipline the blacks of the Department of the South.—*Hilton Head Gor. Tribune.*

Gen. Lane's Englishmen.—Some person in Winsted, Conn., having recently addressed Gov. Buckingham an inquiry whether he would receive a negro regiment, his excellency replied as follows:

"Hartford, August 14, 1862.

"Dear Sir: Some of the best men I know have come to me that the time may yet come when a regiment of colored men may be profitably employed. But I do not think the time has yet arrived—should be introduced into a regiment, or a regiment into a brigade (the reverse is usually made), and compelled to associate with them, such unpleasant feeling and irritation that more of them good would result.

"Yours respectfully, Wm. A. Buckingham."

Wherever the Secessionists—Gen. Miller, at Nashville, a few days since, issued an order for one thousand negroes to work upon the fortifications. He received the following reply from Hon. Jno. Bell, a former member of the Legislature of Tennessee:

"Hon. Jno. Bell, 10 miles from Nash, August 12—1862.

"Dear Sir: Gen. John Bell Miller has directed me by you to send to Nashville negroes. I have but a boy to send, and he is sick. I have no other to send. I am sufficient one his nee bon out of place the other is a disease of the scalp. I have also a boy that I have lately hired from Col. Able to come in and hoe out Mr. Mallo to come in and to attend to fix for me. I am a true man to the cause of my country.

"Yours, &c., J. B. Pastingross."

Jim Lane and Kansas Secessionists.—The Provost Marshal at Leavenworth, in the absence of Gen. Blunt, has arrested a number of suspected of secession proclivities, and asked Gen. Lane to keep them for him, placing them in Lane's custody. Lane accepted the trust, and going through the manual in line with colored patriots, reported stacked.—*Leavenworth Conservative.*

Jim Lane has been putting the negro volunteers in his brigade to a very degrading service. He employs them in building corduroy roads, and we were informed by a gentleman from Kansas, that he was on his way to arrest for treason. Why should all the dirty work be put upon the negroes?—*Tribune.*

Senator Lane.—Senator Lane, according to recent advices from Kansas, is rapidly organizing two new regiments, comprising almost all of the negroes in that State, and is about to march them North. So soon as these regiments are armed they will be used in such wise as effectively to defend their property and persons from the neighboring States. Senator Lane is reported to be awakening the greatest enthusiasm among the people of Kansas, by a speech in which he declared that the negro regiments now raising in Kansas, though not to be directly accepted by the government, are yet necessary to get rid of a number of disloyal persons. It is also stated that the colored regiment recently offered to the President, and which he declined, still preserves its organization, and may possibly turn up in Kansas also. Out of that regiment there were nine hundred and eighty-eight men able to carry their names to the enlistment papers. All such could hardly be said of some white regiments in the South.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Negroes are not so black, after all, when they are sent to Canada and refugeed in their disloyal masters. A wonderful change is come over them in this regard. They have grown wiser, if not more humane, since the days when they were considered "contrabands." And only are "contrabands" now gladly received and made useful under Uncle Sam's auspices, but hungry lovers of liberty are hailed by thousands have also been made upon rebel owners, both here and throughout Middle Tennessee. Certainly a strange and very gratifying turn to affairs and provoking in the extreme to traitors—to see gangs of freedmen march through the streets over the property of rebels who are vibrating with unmistakable happiness and awakened manhood, to their work upon the extensive fortifications erecting around the city and elsewhere.

I am not aware that Gen. Buell has as yet issued any formal orders for the carrying out of the provisions of the Confiscation Act. But I know that he has for some time been acting in accordance with the spirit of it by availing himself of all the contrabands that came within our lines for fatigue work. I have even reason to believe that the scarcity of the article, caused by the driving off of thousands of human chattels into Alabama, is the only limit to his use of it. That rich property, other than human, is also seizable the effect of Congressional legislation, I have already mentioned in my preceding letter. "Living upon the enemy" by liberal foraging has been systematically practiced by the Army of the Ohio for many weeks.

The organs of so-called Conservatism in the North, in their raging argumentation against what they are all pleased to style "Abolition legislation or Congress," have lumped it with considerable force upon the assertion that, should an emancipation policy be adopted, half of the Western army would lay down their arms. Could that experiment were tried, and the lapping liberation took the risk of the threatened contingency. Be assured, champions of human slavery, that there are more devils of fight in the negro in any of the Union ranks than even the most sanguine Abolitionist has ever dreamed of. Nothing but the fiercest determination of anti-slavery men array like. The loyal soldier is not blind. He has judgment. He has seen negroes fight. He has witnessed the effect of victory to truth that slavery is the root of the rebellion, and that every moment were lost in the dark efforts of the peculiar institution are revealed to him in all their convincing hideousness. His every day's experience has taught him that this deadly foe are the "civilized whites," and his ready friends the debased colored serfs. He is not brute enough not to be moved by the touching manifestations of good feeling made every where by the latter. While the treacherous whites lurk on the wayside, bent upon his life and ready to murder him from behind, the murderous designs of their masters, bring him water to quench his thirst, and point out the hidden guerillas have made more Abolitionists by their insolence, barbarous wantonness than all the anti-slavery propaganda of Northern orators and agency of anti-slavery documents will result in the liberation of thousands of slaves. I refer to the cruel death of Gen. R. L. McCook. Had the negro appeared on the field of battle which he was shot, he demanded water three of the white occupants. They prod no heed to his request. One of their number was astonished to hear such sentiments from a General who, but a few months since, was frantic with rage for courting fugitive slaves, who barely escaped non-confirmation by two or three votes in consequence.—*The Union.*

Anthony on McClellan.—*Alexandria, Va., Aug 25.*—I have this morning conversed with a large number of the leading officers of the army, and I find almost all of them, all there, still there able, but what some strange, they all seem anxious to demonstrate their devotion to the general commanding in advance and not behind the policy of the Administration. They assert, in the most positive language, that if Gen. McClellan returned to his rebel or loyal master place the army of the Potomac touched the soil of the Peninsula. McClellan, they say, had but little about the negro, but has acted a great deal, and if it had not been for the hesitating policy of the President, would have done a great deal more. Whatever the truth may be, it is soothing to think that the General who would not crush the rebellion in his camp, and the soldiers who drove them out are now anxious to possess the good opinion of the friends of those sweet singers and earnest philanthropists.—*Tribune.*

Cheating the Blacks.—*Fredericksburg, Va., Aug. 23.*—I am sorry to notice that some of our officers here are in no haste or are in the dark world in cheating a poor contraband out of any little money or valuables he may have. A case has come to my knowledge in which one such has not a Zouave, or red-leg, as Cuffee calls him—but he turned out to be a blackleg, as the story will prove shortly. A poor negro lately owned a gold watch, and persuaded his white-eyed friend to sell it for him. The negro was fully conscious of its value, and would not take less than $15. Accordingly, the sale was made over the same to the Zouave, who, you know, is the one of the colored man from another, at the cost of the satisfaction of the individual who sold the watch, it was difficult to tell one white man from another, as the only thing he could tell the officer by whom he contained was that the man he sold to had red legs. There were 900 red legs in the immediate locality.—*Tribune.*

The Negro Brought at Last.—*Lexington, Ky., Aug. 26.*—So far as the formation and organization are concerned, the negro brigade is a perfect success. It remains to be seen how well they will fight. The necessary number of overseers have been appointed to present Cuffee from relaxing into that state of laziness and insipidity into which, when not kept up to the mark by the Anglo-Saxon race, he is very apt to sink. The negroes are fully provided with everything necessary to their health and comfort. Most of them are much better fed and clothed than they ever were before, as an instance of which I will mention the following: Among the darkies taken from a noted rebel here, was a favorite man—an old house-servant. Notwithstanding this "old fellow's quarter" (I quote those words because they constitute a Southern idea which the war has reduced to fate in the North), the contraband was defeated at the prospect of going on detached service for Uncle Sam. His mistress called on him for help, and he was wouldn't like to have his bed and clothing sent to himself to forget if he got enough to eat. "Lor bress you, massa," said he to his mistress's lady, "I don't care about de grub—got de best kind o' a bed, too; as good as master's. Boy won't let me put my own bed ready to go off. But I tell ye, mum, dey's like to be cursed to sleep on his old bed, wear his old clothes, or eat his ornamental victuals." In this case may be said of one-half the men constituting the brigade.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

Gen. Grant's Form of Free Papers.—It is said there are about five thousand contraband Arkansas negroes within the federal lines. The following is the form of the free papers issued by Gen Curtis to the undersigned negroes:

Headquarters of the Southwest, }
Helena, Ark., July 21, 1862. }

Special Order No. 157.—Jerry Hiulk, a colored man, formerly a slave, having by his own act become a free man, and his property, is hereby confiscated as being contraband of war, and not being needs in the public service, is permitted to go to his former home in Tennessee northward, and is forever emancipated from his master, who permitted him to assist in attempting to break up the government and lies in open rebellion.

By command of Major General Curtis.

Jerry White [in red ink].

All the officers and many of the privates in Gen. Curtis's army are supplied with servants.

The Colored Regiment of Rhode Island.—More than the required number of men for a company have been enrolled. The uncertainly which hangs over the matter discourages a rapid organization. If it can be decided that the regiment would be organized and go into service, it would be completed in a very short time.—*Providence Journal.*

Gen. Dix on Gen. Pope's Untone.—*Alexandria, Va., Aug. 26.*—Persons who were attached to the staff of Gen. Pope, and who were also present at Warrenton on the day he left that city, say that except at Warrenton, the day the joy manifested by the citizens of Warrenton upon the return of Stuart's cavalry with their flags was unbounded all bounds. The population of the village turned out en masse. Ladies ran up to the rebel cavalry and embraced them, although many of them were entire strangers. The only bell left in the village rang out loud and clear, and blended with the cheers of the citizens of the thronging villagers. A barely negro dressed in Gen. Pope's best uniform, with the stars of the Major-General on his shoulders, rode in front of the mounted upon Gen. Pope's best horse, rode in front of Stuart, as the famous cavalry brigade marched through the streets. The negro was captured subsequently, and hardly knew what to make of it; but the multitude enjoyed that part of the spectacle hugely. Stuart and his men in the strong, however, were not elapsed to treat the new Major-General with the respect due to his rank. As the cavalcade was approaching the house occupied by Sperryville, the contents of two or three hastily portioned cups splashed on the fine cloth of Coffee, and soon fell him to discover that he was being made an object of respect, he was one of the grossest ridicule.

Capt. Goulding, the popular and efficient Quartermaster of Gen. Pope, was the only officer present to support the dignity of his Major-General. Stuart, embarking his assertions that he was a Quartermaster and lairly entitled to ride upon a good horse, he was compelled to walk the streets, and was made a groom to the rebel gentleman riding by his side. The staff horses of Gen. Pope were decked by the ladies of Warrenton with rebel emblems and flags, and the cheers, and applause, and suddenly improvised into rosettes. The prettiest darkey boys led them, and each one was proud of leading one of the horses. Until the fair rebels had breathed a prayer that Yankee staff officers would never again ride them into battle.—*Tribune.*

Change of Sentiment in the Army of the Ohio.—*Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 25.*—When I came here last spring with the army of the Ohio, our Generals—at least the Commanding-in-Chief and all the Division Commanders—were all systematic slave-catchers. Hundreds of runaways were hunted out of the Union camps and returned to their disloyal masters. A wonderful change is come over them in this regard. They have grown wiser, if not more humane, since the days when they were considered "contrabands." And only are "contrabands" now gladly received and made useful under Uncle Sam's auspices, but hungry lovers of liberty are hailed by thousands have also been made upon rebel owners, both here and throughout Middle Tennessee. Certainly a strange and very gratifying turn to affairs and provoking in the extreme to traitors—to see gangs of freedmen march through the streets over the property of rebels who are vibrating with unmistakable happiness and awakened manhood, to their work upon the extensive fortifications erecting around the city and elsewhere.

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Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

A REPRISNE.

BY ONE OF THE "TWENTY MILLIONS."

[Written after reading HOSEA'S FIRST Letter to PRESIDENT LINCOLN.]

WELL said Israel God protect the Right,
And John who dared proclaim it!
Who bid the Truth up to the light,
To a listening world commit.
We use him to retrieve and this word:
"Well done, thou servant of the Lord!"

It needs not laying on of hands,
Nor vows of holy unction,
Nor sifted crown, nor simples-bands,
Nor scepter of priestly function,
Nor pledge of sacrificial wine,
To stamp each mission all divine.

He is God's messenger indeed
Who does His holy pleasure!
Who deals the Truth at greatest need,
Without or stint or measure;
Who dares to strike in Duty's name,
Heedless alike of praise and blame.

There needed one to speak the word
That people, by her spoken,
To break—by fear not doubt deterred—
The shame he has broken.
God! shall that word without rebuke
That spell be broken all in vain?

Then knocked I in thy nightly hand,
—So runs the record olden—
The Ruled and Ruler of the land,
The hearts of all, are hidden;
Oh, on Him from the council of fate,
And cause us ere it be too late.

Pittsburg, Mass., Aug. 23. O. A. M.

THE CAUSE AND THE CURE.

[A Speech delivered in Dodd's Hall, Roxbury, Mass., on Thursday evening, August 7, by Miss SARAH E. WALL.]

WHO would not rather act than talk at a crisis like this? Why not act, then? The question is pertinently put. There are two tribunals which must decide it—one, a mighty court of conscience; the other, the examining surgeons. Each heard known its own bitterness, and must weigh its own reasons. Should any unquisitive gentleman challenge me on this point, here is my reply: Though an exempt, my time may come; and, so far as I can prearrange it, I shall find me ready. My country, her honor or need, shall not be refused. May God do so to me, and more also, if, while the cause of that country is the cause of justice, I will not, in her behalf, go forth to battle—spurn the base death, and win the immortal life.

European intermeddlers are continually asking us, Will not consent to a peaceable separation? And by this they simply mean, Why not give up to the authors of this rebellion all they want? Why not allow those gentlemen of the aspirant race—those clavaliers Normans, as they delight to call themselves (one point of their chivalry being to flaunt together women and cowardly men), to set their cognitive heels on the necks of the base-born twenty millions of the free States—these commingled Saxons, Celts and Scandinavians?

That man can know little of our past history or of the laws of human nature, who believes, first, that there could be any amicable settlement between the North and the South, as independent powers; second, that any settlement could last three months, unless one of the contending parties had proved its superiority on the other by fighting.

Will the teeming millions of the Mississippi Valley ever consent that a twentieth part of their own numbers—now arrogant and defiant—should control the outlet of that imperial river, bought by Northern money? Do not believe it. New Orleans will be a bed for fishes before that time. Will they give up to Chicopathic Bay, with its lead waters in Pennsylvania, and the capital of the Republic on the river that flows into that bay? Not while the cold fig streams at the manhood of our Northern ship! Shall we give up the Gulf of Mexico, and the Florida coast? Not till Dupont and Foote and Farragut are forgotten.

Fellow-citizens, there never can be a settlement except by the sword. We must conquer or be conquered. We are shut up to this necessity. No peace but human ingenuity could devise would be better than a chronic war—a war almost as expensive as that we are now waging. Better, a war we can and must conquer. We are in the right. Only let that great thought fill our hearts and nerve our arms, and by the very laws of our being we must conquer.

"For God is right, since God is God;
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty—
To falter would be sin."

Napoleon used to say, God is generally on the side of the heaviest battalions. There is truth in that, too; because, if we are in the right, we ought to be in earnest; and, if we are in earnest, we shall put forth our strength, and so shall be heavier battalions over the heathen. If the Confederates can do what they are doing in a *bad* cause, what ought we to do in a righteous one—in the grand old cause of human freedom?

You sometimes hear it said, "We'll fight for the Union, but not for the nigger." But what if the best way of fighting for the Union is to fight for the negro—what then? Away with such sordid calculations! You will not fight for the nigger? It, when time and justice call, you will not fight for the right, you will not fight for the Union. Those men who have got and must foster the best rudiments of Christianity and of true manliness.

Up to the attack on Sumter! was as forbearing as the most conservative. Not that I did not abhor slavery, but because I was willing to give the very devil his due, to the uttermost farthing, under that Constitution whose practical working now benefits I was enjoying. Perhaps I was even over-scrupulous in my desire not to countenance any violation, either in the letter or the spirit, of that Constitution. But perhaps I did not my ears too rigidly to the arguments of good and able men who took contrary views of our obligations. Perhaps I was too prone to require the proofs of the great slaveholding conspiracy which others detected and forewarned us of. However this may be, I kept aloof from all suspicion of joining in unlawful aggression. But now our relations are reversed, antagonistic. Slow forbearance now? Show it to the burglar, who in one moment more will have his revolver at your breast!

Certain politicians are telling us to "drop the perpetual nigger" and attend to our enlisting. They are like the fellow who wanted to produce a play, but would not have the "perpetual" Hamlet and all mention of him left out. What said Cromwell, the manager, in reply? "Then the play will be done without Hamlet; there would be no play at all!" And just so, without the nigger, there would be no enlisting at all—no tragedy—no dissolution.

But it is not merely the negro you would rescue. Think of the millions of poor whites, crushed by slavery into a degradation almost lower than that of the born slave, and of the ignorant who are to be more the palpable cause of their abject state. These men, in their own despite, you would enfranchise and elevate, so that hereafter, if not at once, they would rise up to call you blessed.

The path of duty is plain in this case the path of victory. An oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders are also subjecting 20,000,000 of white freemen to the losses, the calamities, the horrors of the most slanderous civil war in the history of the world. And for what? For what, in the nineteenth century? (Hear it, O sympathizing England! hear it, Palmerston! and hear it, Russell!) For what? Simply in order that slavery may be fastened on a second time—may have new guarantees of extension and perpetuity, and that slaveholders may become a privileged and governing order in the grand theocracy building. Confederacy, pledged to the acquisition of every new territory for the propagation of their godless despotism over human bodies and souls. Does any man of common sense doubt this? The Confederate Vice-President, Stephens, with an intrepidity worthy of the unchanged ruined, has boldly proclaimed it—has declared that slavery is the very cornerstone of their new system.

By what frauds and bribes—by what appeals to proper and moral antipathies of caste, implanted by God in the two races himself, but which are violated morally by masters and overseers—by what sedatives, what malignant sorcery—have English tyrants of slavery contrive to hold their five millions of non-slaveholding whites in a bondage more shameful than that of the blacks themselves, let the philosopher inform us. Perhaps it is not safe to ask those men who still prate of abolition fanatics: There is no such type of the genuine fanatic as your oppressive slaveholder. Unconscious and all his active feels, excitements, aspirations, by slavery—feeling that the moral sense of all Christendom is against him—knowing that slavery can only perpetuate itself by extension—he revels in dreams of a grand consolidated slave empire, taking in Mexico and Central America, and bring the Southern heart with the prospect of an ample scope for all unscrupulous and pent-up ambitions. His state thus being abnormal, and contrary to our innate sense of right, as well as to that central principle of Christian morality which bids us do unto others as we would have them do unto us—his passions also grow to be irregular, eccentric, inordinate, aggressive. When this war shall have ended, as it will, either by the immediate submission or the utter prostration of slavery, posterity will look back with wonder at the fanaticism—the wilder than Oriental fanaticism—of the during men who have precipitated this war upon the nation.

Slavery thus being the cause, and the only cause of this war, if we would have an end of this war, at slavery we must strike home. Governament sees this now, and slavery trembles at the fact that the day of forbearance is ended. The great steamer Jeffy and that John Sibbell, legally an advocate of the reopening of the African slave trade, is now trying to dupe the Emperor and French people with the lure of prospective emancipation. In their despair the rebels will soon seriously make this offer to England and France. They will be too late. The tigers are full of good cheer. Congress has passed the right laws. All honor to Congress! The hair-splitting gentlemen, who have been arguing that the Constitution does not confer power to declare war against those who have abjured its protection, and are stabbing at the nation's life—these ingenious gentlemen are now very generally regarded as more than half traitors. Hunter is doing a good work at Port Royal, in showing that the blacks can be made into soldiers. "The fomenting cause of this rebellion," he says, "must be abated. The sam must be laid to the root." Honor to Hunter! Lane is raising black regiments in Kansas. Good for Lane! Cuyler promises well in Virginia. Success to this Pope's new Essay on Man!

Truly, the world moves. We are fast coming up to the mark. In less than sixty days every slave of a rebel who can be reached will, by the laws of the United States, be a free man. On our new levies will devolve the sublime privilege of making way for liberty. Those who have gone before them have plowed and planted, and watered—watered, alas! often with blood—but those, their successors, will reap. The harvest is ripening—the hour has struck—the day is dawning. O! glorious day of rest! Day of jubilee! Day of restitution!

Slavery is the strength or the perdition of this Rebellion, just as we choose to make it. The plain question is, Shall we use the power which our new legislation has given us as a sacred thing, even while we have been treating it—as a sacred thing, even while it is manly striving for our ruin—treat it as an institution of which we must speak, and with which we must deal, in whispers—and slavery is the strength, the very sinews and life-blood of this rebellion. The slaves are at home, some of them at the point of the bayonet, others armed women and old men—while all the able-bodied men and boys, from town—village and plantation, are in the Confederate lines.

Slavery is thus their strength, and they laugh you with the fact. But let the blasted monster now feel the pride of your bayonets in hearty earnest, and the pride of your bayonets in hearty earnest, and you scatter all rebellion right and left in dismay—dismay feat the flash of those bayonets shall recoil it to the slave that he, too, is a man, and can handle a musket.

There in a class of men so fastidiously magnanimous that they protest against this revolution simply on the ground that it is likely to be effected. "What if they say, "emancipate as a military necessity?" emancipate for the paltry purpose of saving the Union? Give up our principles to save anything! That will never do. Oh, no! Wait till you have thoroughly whipped the rebels, and then emancipate on the high ground of justice!" Yes, wait till you have whipped the rebels, we should hear from those same malcontents the cry, "What! take advantage of your enemy when he is down! Oh, no! Wait till he is down, and then, if he will then be same manly, some courage, in a decree of emancipation."

Such cowardice is simply an impertinence. It is the very spirit of the Oxford man, who, seeing a Cambridge man in the water, struggling for his life, quietly remarked, "What a pity I was never taught to swim!" But no! I do not think the latter feeling is quietly remarked, "What a pity I was never taught to swim!" But no! I do not think the latter feeling is of saving his life." There can be no time when it is not timely to do right, to abolish wrong, to remedy not timely to do right, to abolish wrong, to remedy not timely to do right, to abolish wrong, to remedy wrong.

We are told to wait till we have put down the rebellion before we dispute about Abolition; "that is a question for another time." You are in the street when a hue and cry is raised, and you are told to join in pursuit of a fugitive. On asking the leader what is the crime of the man you are to receive he reply, "No matter for that. One thing at one time. Catch him first, and you will then learn what we are pursuing him for!" Would such an answer satisfy you?

In such advisers as Mr. Seward consider that it is not to unreasoning insolence, but to wise and prudent counsel, that we are to look for the right and wrong, that they speak? Every boy in the army knows it is slavery that now stands in the way, calling for every man to enlist. Do you think he is very anxious to have fighting your battles from asking, Why not strike at the real foe? Why leave unharmed the *cause* of all this bloodshed and misery?

All this foolish, all nay, all contemptible, all manhood, call on us imploringly to seize the critical moment, and trample out, while we can, this cause—this cause of all outrages and wrongs. And if we do this, we shall only beat the air in unavailing, exhausting efforts. Disaster, mortification and defeat must be our portion until we recognize the purpose of the All-God in the whole business, and acquiesce in that purpose. The Constitution, which was the only safeguard of slavery, slavery has thrown off, and upon which it is would-be assassins. Our common sense tells us that this is the truth. We need no more to confirm it, and we need not those who contradict it. Not five per cent. of the slaveholders can show a legal claim to seven negroes, on the Kentucky basis. Those who can, let them be reimbursed fairly. Not even to do a great right would I do a little wrong. It is the law of Providence, every day in the inscrutable law of Providence, every great system of injustice against humanity is unable to dig its own grave; and slavery in no exception to this law. In tying it dug the mighty grave, he has dug his own. Now hurl him into it, and put an end to the audacious, Satanic, God-defying iniquity.

The young heroes who have fallen in this war—fallen, some from wounds, or what is harder to a soldier, from diseases of the camp—they, too, are calling on us; from their serene heights they call on us to push on to the end of the work. Ellsworth, brave young and beautiful on the historic page—all accounted in his best garb for the sacrifice, as he stood forth that night making in Alexandria—joyous for country and for duty, though with the presentition of a swift death upon his mind; Winthrop, with his Caesar-like accomplishments of pen and sword, who Caesar-like accomplishments of pen and sword, who has spoken so eloquently his scorn of slavery in his matchless books; Lyon, saintly hero, who one year ago urged what I am urging—Greble, and Ellis, and Bartow, and Putnam, and Lowell, and Hodges, and Williams, and Britton, and Peabody, and Case, and Gove, and Wyman, and McCook—all have the full assurance of faith that the blood of our best and bravest—many obscure ones, but who have carried with them into the better life their high recollections of having died for their country—all these also the sweetness of dying for country—this new and noble army of martyrs—they call on us, and say: Behold therein also our murdered earth enemy of God and of the cause of Republican liberty and human rights! Go! improve the God-given opportunity. Away with the hideous tyrant! There goes the monster! Down with the hideous tyrant! There goes the monster! Down with him—overwhelm him—trample him—stay him—and make him surrender.

The government are ready. "I will be ready myself," said the President, "as soon as the people are ready," said the President, some weeks ago. Let the people show themselves ready now. This war has devolved upon us the duty of propagandism. Heed not the mere politicians—whether of the *ins* or the *outs*—men who seem to dread the rise of the cause of the fall of that party more than they dread the ruin of the nation. Away with all party lines! The President, or the Cabinet, or sub-officials, high or low, who would make party capital out of the present momentous issue between loyal Democrats and loyal Republicans, are as much traitors as Floyd himself.

If then, finally, fellow-citizens, you would spare the blood of the young and brave now going forth to join their brethren in the field—if you would avert from this and coming generations new generations of bloodshed—if you would be to the great intelligent future a by-word and a hissing for imbecility, luxury and a half-a, craven reverence for a beastly idol—if you would not call down upon you the plain intents of Providence—if you would not pull Christ once more to the cross, then rise in your might and make known to the government and to the world that you are ready—ready to proclaim and to establish *universal* freedom throughout the land—ready to enlist for the dear old flag, to fill up the legions now in the field, insure their victory, and save the republic.

RELIGIOUS OR RECTITUDE.—There is an exhilaration, a hope, a joy, springing up within us when we *will* with power what we ought to be good, when we are convinced of treading under foot the low principles and interests which would part us from God and Duty, when we sacrifice firmly and unreservedly selfish desires on the world's favor to the claims of Christian rectitude.—*Channing.*

MINISTERING ANGELS.

BY MISS PROCTOR.

ANGELS of light, spread your bright wings and keep
Near me all hours;
Nor in the starry sea, nor midnight deep,
Leave me to lowers.
From all dark spirits of unholy power
Guard my weak heart,
Circle around me with your radiant bower,
And take my part.

From all forbodding thoughts and dangerous fears
Shield me to-day;
Teach me to hope, and through the bitterest tears
Still to endure.

If lonely in the road so fair and wide
My feet should stray,
Then through a rougher, safer pathway guide
Me day by day.

Should my heart faint at its unequal strife,
Oh, still be nearer—
Shadow the feeblest exertions of this life
With holy fear.

Then leave me not alone in this bleak world,
Where'er I roam;
And at the cool, still hour bright wings unfurled,
Oh, take me home!

MRS. L. MARIA CHILD TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

From The National Republican.

It may seem a presumption in me, simply for a woman to address the Chief Magistrate of the nation at a crisis so momentous as this. But if the Romans, ages ago, accorded to Hortiensia the right of pleading her own cause before the Triumvirs, it is surely levied on the wealthy ladies of Rome, surely an American woman of the nineteenth century need not apologize for pleading with the chief of the country in behalf of the poor, the wronged, the cruelly oppressed. Surely the women of America have a right to inquire, nay, demand, whether their husbands, sons, and brothers are to be buried by thousands in Southern swamps, without obtaining thereby "indemnity for the past and security for the future."

By the Act of Congress of the Border States, you have declared slavery to be "that without which the war could never have been," and you propose to shorten the war, I would respectfully ask how much longer the nation is to wait for the decision of the Border States, pay, consecrated $24,000,000 a day, and sending those made of its best and bravest to be stabbed, shot, and hung by the rebels, whose property they are protecting from the ravages of war, instead of which slavery officers be permitted to refuse obedience to the laws of Congress, saying, "We shall continue to hold our slaves subject to such laws as our State may ordain from the *President* to the contrary." What fatal spell in cast over your honest mind, that you hesitate so long? It give and enslaves? Is not the word of God is not smoked. Neither nations nor individuals sin against His laws with impunity. Hear the old Hebrew Prophet, in words worth seen as if spoken for us: "Thou shouldst not have stood in the crossway to cut off those that did escape; neither should'st thou have delivered up those that did remain in the day of distress. For the violence against thy brother, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off forever. The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, saying, who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the *eagle*, and though thou set thy nest among the *stars*, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord."

The calamities people have manifested almost universally, for the Old Testament and such records as the colonies patience, forbearance, and confidence in their rulers. They have generally submitted to their authorities, their love of country, may be trusted to any extent. They are willing to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives, but they are not willing to sacrifice their honor. They are sacrificing them for men, even the bravest, do not go resolutely and cheerfully to death in the name of diplomacy and strategy. The human heart, under such circumstances, needs to be lifted up and sustained by great ideas of Justice and Freedom.

The President has a fearful responsibility before God to quench the moral enthusiasm of a generous people. It wastes thousands of precious lives, causes an unutterable anguish of fear, consuming suspense, and makes our record on the pages of history. Again I respectfully ask, how much longer we are to wait for the Border States, for such treason as your cool and "masterly" Secretary of State, from the hidden recesses of Southern forests! Listen to the refrain of their plaintive hymn, "Let my people go!" Above all, think of their present wretchedness, continually, scourged and driven from one to another, not knowing whom to trust! We are told that uncounded prayers go up from the whole land, that in the secret of the closet, under rude little cabins, that "God would bless Massa Lincoln." Is there nothing that touches your heart in the simple trust of these poor, benighted, scourged people? In view of it, can you still allow the officers of the United States to bind them at their pleasure and send them back to their tormentors, on the plea that the President has given no orders on the subject? Shall such officers go unrebuked, while Gen. Hunter is checked in his wise and humane policy, and when the great Pathfinder, Gen. Phelps is driven to the alternative of disobeying the convictions of his own conscience, or quitting the service of his country? Think of the effect upon the moral enthusiasm of noble souls; if you can thus disappoint the hopes of poor, helpless wretches, who trust in you as the appointed agents of their deliverance, may God forgive you! It will require *infinite* mercy to do it.

I can imagine, in some degree, the embarrassments of your position, and I compassionate you for the heavy weight of responsibility that rests upon your shoulders. I know that you are surrounded by devils that have squeezed themselves into the delegates of fiends. I pray you to lose no more time in counting those fiends and calculating how big a devil each may contain. Look over their heads to God's word. Place your reliance on *principle* rather than on men. God has placed you at the head of a great nation at a crisis when its free institutions are on extreme peril, and you are looked within and without. Lay your right arm on the buckler of the Almighty, and march fearlessly forward to universal freedom in the name of the Lord!

Pardon me if, in my earnestness, I have said aught that seems disrespectful. I have not so intended. I have been impelled to speak by the anguish of my heart, by the plaintive song of the bondmen resounds in my ears:

"Go down, Moses, go down to Egypt's land,
And say to Pharaoh: 'Let my people go.'"

That you may be guided by Him who love and is Lord of righteousness, and Ruler of peace, is the earnest prayer of Yours, respectfully,

L. MARIA CHILD.

RECONSTRUCTION.

WITH an apprenticeship of seventy-five years this nation has come to the rank of a first-class Power. Other nations waited many hundred before reaching that position which we take in our extreme youth. For we are young. The later yet only in our land, and not a luck is gray. All our life is before us. What the great future shall be, is of more importance than any other question that can be put to the understanding and conscience of this people.

There lies the continent before us. Shall one tongue be spoken between the Gulf and the Lakes? Shall a Constitution upon the model of the British Constitution grow to the stature of a centralized and centripetal forces, and of gravitation binding the spheres in their orbits: but what is gravitation? It is only a name for the will of God in relation to matter? We conclude therefore that the power in which we may trust is that which finds its expression in the word of divine truth. We call it gravitation, when it strikes certain forms. The word of divine truth is destined to accomplish whereto it is sent because it is the vehicle of the power of God unto salvation. Therefore it is, as far as it goes, *the revelation of the divine idea or purpose. He who has the truth has Omnipotence at his back him.* He who has the truth has Omnipotence at his back. He who has the truth has Omnipotence at his back. He who has the truth has Omnipotence at his back.